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REPORT NO.

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COUNTRY Indochina/Thailand

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SUBJECT Comment and Summary Translation of Viet Minh
Pamphlet "Sua Doi Loi Lam Viec" (How to Change and
25X1A Improve Methods of Work)

NO. OF PAGES 7

NO. OF ENCLS.
(LISTED BELOW)

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SUPPLEMENT TO
REPORT NO.

1. The pamphlet "Sua Doi Loi Lam Viec" (How to Change and Improve Methods of Work) was written in October 1947 and published in early 1948 by the Viet Minh. It was re-edited and published in Thailand in the summer of 1949. The Thai edition numbered about 2,000 copies. The pamphlet was originally compiled under the direction of the Viet Minh Tong Bo in Viet Nam. It was destined for the use of Viet Minh can-bos (cadre) of all types (political, economic, military, cultural, propaganda, security, etc.). It is mainly for the lower and middle echelon can-bos and is not intended for the upper echelon can-bos. The book was compiled from documents concerning the record, good and bad, of the work done by Viet Minh can-bos throughout Viet Nam.
2. This pamphlet is an important one for can-bos of the lower and middle echelons. In theory, each of these can-bo received a copy of the pamphlet for study. Often one of the higher echelon can-bos will discuss the pamphlet with a group of lower can-bos and will explain the points with illustrations drawn from the experiences of the local group. An illustration of this method of instruction is the tieu-to (cell) of the Viet Nam News Service. Xom, an example of the higher echelon can-bo, distributed 4 copies of this pamphlet to members of his cell with instructions for each member to read it within a week. At later meetings of the group time is devoted to reading the book together and discussing the points raised in some detail.
3. The pamphlet is written in a very simple style and is very easy to understand. Certain paragraphs, however, are long and sometimes verbose. The pamphlet deals at some length with the faults and errors of the can-bos. These shortcomings are well observed, both in Viet Nam and Thailand. From this point of view, the book is very frank and illustrates a sincere effort on the part of the Viet Minh to reorganize and improve its ranks.
4. A large number of these pamphlets were published for use within Viet Nam. The Thai edition, however, was quite limited and was only distributed to can-bo, with instructions to prevent the pamphlet from falling into the hands of the general public. Viet Minh can-bos in Thailand have all the faults and errors mentioned in the pamphlet and, according to Xom, it is doubtful whether they can correct themselves in a relatively short time. The pamphlet is classified "confidential" in Thailand because of the fear that the "reactionaries" could

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profit from possession of the pamphlet by being able to launch counter-propaganda, not directly against the Viet Minh Tong Bo or the Ho Government, but against the shortcomings of the Viet Minh can-bos in Thailand in order to disgrace them in the eyes of the Vietnamese residents.

5. Although the Viet Minh reserves the right of self-criticism, it is forbidden for the public to criticize the Viet Minh. In reading this pamphlet, one may be misled by the fact that it is full of "democratic ideas" and the free expression of thoughts and discontent. It should be noted that in certain passages the Viet Minh insists on a strict system of control. The pamphlet does not mention the trinh-sat (can-bo of the public security service) who are the power behind the Viet Minh machine.

6. Summary Translation of the Pamphlet

"(How to) Change and Improve Methods of Work"

Note: This translation is a summary of the pamphlet and gives only a general idea of its contents.

Page 1: Title: "How to) Change and Improve Methods of Work"

Table of contents:

- a) Certain remarks and experiences
- b) Moral conduct and revolutionary spirit
- c) The question of the can-bos
- d) The method of the leaders
- e) Against the habit of speaking at random

Page 2: Title: "The working methods of the groups must be changed."

The groups are intended to struggle, and to direct the people in the struggle, for unification and independence. This work has had glorious results.

But each can-bo, each member of the groups, should work more exactly to augment these results. That is why each can-bo, each member should examine himself and examine his comrades to discover any possible defections.

Page 3: There are 3 types of defections:

- a) Defections of thought--i.e., the malady of "subjectivity."
- b) Defections of poor understanding of the rapport between the group and its environment--i.e., the malady of narrowness.
- c) Defections of speech and of writing--the malady of speaking at random.

-
- a) The Malady of Subjectivity - This malady has several origins: feeble reasoning, mistakes in reasoning, and useless reasoning.

Page 4:

At present the revolutionary movement is large, but few can-bos know how to apply reasoning to historical, economic, political, and cultural events. Those who cannot are the can-bos of feeble reasoning.

Others have experience, but disregard the logic of these experiences.

Others have read a great deal, but they are not realists. Their reasoning is useless.

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Page 5: What is an intellectual? He is a man of great knowledge. There are two types of knowledge:

- a) knowledge of economic struggle
- b) knowledge of the struggle of men and society.

The intellectual must be a realist and cannot be vain.

Page 6: The Malady of Narrowness - This malady, common to many can-bos, gives rise to egotism, the love of high position, to regionalism, etc.

Egotists forget that we work for the people.

Page 7-10: Those who love high positions cannot unify groups. One must fight against the spirit of regionalism to unify the can-bos of different regions, of different military groups, of different ages. It is also necessary that the can-bo avoid considering himself superior to the people.

Page 11: Omitted in pamphlet.

Page 12: Certain experiences: A good can-bo does everything well. For example: Students are not going to school. A good can-bo should speak to their parents to find out the reasons. He finds out that the parents are poor, etc., and tries to help the students to work for their living and at the same time to study. Thus, he obtains students.

Page 13: It is good to have "models" of villages, schools, and military units. But we must create these models ourselves and not merely wait for them and then copy them.

Page 15: We must analyze our experiences, even when they give us good results.

Page 16: We must increase the spirit of ardor and initiative. We must also encourage criticism and the spirit of democracy.

Page 19: We are responsible to our group and to our government. But that is not all: We are also responsible to the people and must explain to them.

Page 21-23: We must be near the people in order that they take an interest in our work.

Page 24: Moral Conduct and Revolutionary Spirit

Character of the Group: Real Patriotism

1. To be in the group is not for the purpose of enriching one's self. The group works for the power of the country, the happiness of the people.
2. The can-bo should know how to reason and be realistic.
3. Watchwords and directives should be based on international, national, and regional facts and experiences.
4. The reaction of the people to the watchwords must be observed.
5. One must observe the watchword: Work-save, integrity-justice.

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6. One must be near the people to direct them and learn from them.
7. One must concentrate on the revolutionary character.
8. One must recognize faults instead of hiding them.
9. Choose faithful and ardent men.
10. Remove those who are indiscreet.
11. Maintain discipline.
12. Control the execution of orders.

These are 12 rules to keep.

One must put the group interest above personal interest.

Page 27: Revolutionary virtues:

- a) Humanity
- b) Justice
- c) Knowledge
- d) Bravery
- e) Integrity

Page 28: Discipline - No one is obliged to join a group. One joins a group because he is aware of his duty. Then he must observe the discipline of the group.

Page 31: Errors

- a) Egotism
- b) Sloth
- c) Pride
- d) Love of high positions
- e) Lack of discipline
- f) Narrowness
- g) Regionalism
- h) Desire to be "leader"

Page 33: Other errors:

- a) Inclination to lie (make false reports)
- b) The spirit of cliques

Remedies:

- a) Clear instructions
- b) Full knowledge of the situation on lower levels
- c) Think before acting
- d) Rapid communication of decisions to lower echelons
- e) Full explanation of decisions
- f) Frequent reports from lower echelons. Verification by upper echelons.

One other error: Poor understanding of the word "equality." For example, every one wants to have the same house, the same food, etc.

Page 38: There are too many errors. But we should not be afraid to discover them in order to correct them.

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Page 41: All groups make mistakes, because the level of all members is not equal, above all when the revolutionary movement is strong. But it is unnecessary either to be too optimistic or too pessimistic.

The following opinions are blameworthy:

- a) To profit from these errors to destroy the organization, or
- b) To bring personal profit to an individual can-bo,
- c) To have no opinion on these errors,
- d) To be too much afraid of these errors.

Our aim should be:

- a) To make a good analysis of what is true and what is false;
- b) To follow good models;
- c) To avoid indifference and try to correct ourselves;
- d) To avoid being mechanical,
- e) To raise the discipline and dignity of the group, and to beware of reactionaries and saboteurs.

Page 43-44: Conclusions

Page 45:

The Question of the Can-bo
The Training of Can-bos

A can-bo is one who explains to the people the working of the group and the government. Conversely, the can-bo reports on the situation of the people to the group and the government.

In addition, the can-bo is the origin of all activities.

Also, the group should train can-bos.

Many can-bos are not competent.

- a) Professional training - Each can-bo should be completely specialized: political, economic, cultural, propaganda, organization, public security, etc.
- b) Political training
 - (1) Facts (from the press)
 - (2) System (from books, directives, programs, ...)

Political training belongs to all the branches of the can-bo.
- c) Cultural training
(above all, for those who are weak)
- d) Training the reason
 - (1) Based on experience
 - (2) Realistic

Page 49-51: To Instruct and Use the Can-bos

- 1. Know the can-bos thoroughly
- 2. Place can-bos in branches where they are capable
- 3. Specialize the can-bos
- 4.
- 5. Help the can-bo and show him sympathy
- 6. Never betray the secret of the can-bos

Page 52: Missing

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Page 53: The Choice of Can-bos

- a) The faithful and ardent
- b) Those who are near the people
- c) Those who are "Sharp" (debrouillards)
- d) Those who observe discipline

Page 54: Treatment of the Can-bos

- a) Give some liberty and power to the can-bos
- b) Encourage them
- c) Control them
- d) Correct them
- e) Help them (in matters of livelihood and family)

Page 55: Some important points: Our organization comprises millions of members, including dozens of old can-bos. They are of different levels.

- a) Know the can-bos. Avoid pride, flattery, and favoritism.
- b) Use him well: Have a generous spirit; have a large spirit; have a good will; have initiative; be gay.
- c) Like the can-bo, but do not spoil him.
- d) Correct him when he errs.

Page 65:

The Art of Directing
To Direct and Control

Good direction means

- 1. Right decisions
- 2. Experience
- 3. Close control - with the aid of the people.

In order to choose well and influence people, the can-bo must take up his responsibility.

Page 77: To learn from the people; not to be directed by the people.

The people are all powerful. If the people approve, all can be done. How to obtain the approbation of the people? --

- a) Dictatorship (the method of the old mandarins) is not approved.
- b) Consult the people (a slow but efficacious method).

Consult each individual. Consult the group. Hold conferences. Hear the different opinions. Choose one close to the majority.

Page 86: Against the Malady of Speaking at Random

- a) It is not necessary to write at length without saying anything. Each sentence must make sense.

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- b) One must write and speak clearly.
- c) One should not use difficult words--of Chinese origin (and hence) difficult to understand.
- d) It is not necessary to lie in reports.
- e) It is not necessary to write without order.
- f) It is not necessary to employ cliches.
- g) Speak and write comprehensibly. Pay attention to slogans and make them comprehensible.
- h) Do not use words whose meaning you do not know.

In convoking a conference, one must

- 1) be prepared on the aims of the meeting
- 2) avoid being vague
- 3) be punctual
- 4) follow the following order:
 - (a) the world situation
 - (b) the national situation
 - (c) report of activities
 - (d) discussion
 - (e) critique
 - (f) dissolution of the conference

Some remedies for this malady:

- 1) Use popular language.
- 2) Use examples.
- 3) Have in mind what you are talking about.
- 4) Before writing, think well, study well, and analyze.
- 5) After having written, reread several times.

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